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ABSTRACT

The study assessed the stability or change in the residential orientations of rural Mexican American youth living near the Texas-Mexico border, examined changes in the local social and economic environment, and made some predictions as to their effects on the students' dispositions. In the springs of 1967 and 1973, questionnaires were administered to all sophomores in 5 South Texas high schools located in Dimmit, Zapata, and Starr Counties. There were 341 respondents in 1967 and 379 in 1973. Although the questionnaire used in 1973 asked for additional information on labeling, migrant status, and value orientations, the variables used in the analysis were identical in wording and occurred in the same order on both instruments. Variables used were: residence aspiration and expectation, anticipatory goal deflection, aspiration intensity, and expectation certainty. Due to the large increase in "no information" on the questionnaires, two sets of Chi Square computations were done. The first set included the "no information" cells; and the second set had the "no information" frequencies deleted. Some findings were: both males and females decreased in urban expectations over the six year span; males showed a slight increase in farm aspirations from 1967 to 1973; both sexes increased in certainty of their residential expectations; and females expected urban residence more than males in both years. (NQ)

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Residence Projections of Mexican-American Youth from the Border Area of South Texas: A Study of Changes over Time*

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INTRODUCTION

There has been a long and clearly established trend in this country of rural people migrating to the urban centers to seek employment, new acquaintances, or excitement. Perhaps more often than not, the underlying reasons for this migration were tied to the withering of opportunities for a satisfactory life in the rural areas.

The problems brought about by this residential migration are familiar and well documented. The cities, the individuals and the rural communities all have lengthy lists of woes resulting from this phenomenon (Hauser, 1968; National Research Goals Staff, 1970; Sundquist, 1970).

As for the Mexican American people, perhaps two of the problems have utmost significance: (1) The concentration of large numbers of ethnic and social minorities into the dehumanizing and seemingly inescapable existence of the inner-city barrios and (2) the bleeding off of the promising, young, and ambitious minds that are of potential aid to those resigned to the intolerable colonias.

For the individual, in terms of his own life satisfaction, there is a high risk of frustration and depression at either location. Historically, it appears that the minority group member has opted to take his chances for personal advancement in the urban setting.

Nevertheless, recently there have been some broad demographic trends which point toward the possibility of a slackening or reversal of the rural outmigration phenomenon.[1] Calvin Beale (1974:26) lists four broad changes

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[1] Chapman (1974:11) notes that from 1970 to 1973 the metropolitan counties grew in population by 2.2 percent. Nonmetropolitan counties adjacent to metropolitan areas grew by 4.1 percent and nonmetropolitan counties not adjacent to metropolitan areas grew by 3.7 percent.

that appear to be major factors in this demographic pattern: (1) The extractive industries have decreased in their employment opportunities to what may be an acceptable and stable level, (2) Rural areas have had increasing success in luring manufacturers to their areas. This has reached a point at which the growth rate of manufacturing activity for nonmetropolitan counties has exceeded that of metropolitan counties. (3) Recreational travel and second homes increased dramatically over the decade of the 1960's. (4) The improved access to rural areas resulting from interstate highway construction has made many rural areas more attractive as residential and commercial areas.

Accompanying this utilitarian or economically determined model for the migration shift is a more philosophically oriented model. In recent years, there has been a renewal of interest in rural residence that stems from the disenchantment with urban life. Pollution, crime and crowding have led many urban dwellers to seek cleaner surroundings, security and peace of mind in the less populated regions farther removed from the cities. Surely this negative evaluation of urban life has reached consciousness of rural dwellers and perhaps has influenced their preferences for residence.

Complementing this disenchantment is the "back-to-the-land" philosophy which has reportedly gained strength. This more positive orientation toward rural life holds that as one gets closer to nature and simplifies one's existence he/she will attain a richer life experience and a harmony with survival. Charles Reich discusses the applicability of this philosophy to the middle class youth of the late 1960's and early 1970's:

> They do not go to nature as a holiday from what is real. They go to nature as a source. The salt water of the sea is their freedom. The forest is where they come from, it is the place where they feel closest to themselves, it is a renewal (Reich, 1970:284).

All these trends are national in scope and are gaining momentum in areas far removed, both geographically and culturally, from the border region of South Texas. These models may have had limited effects on the Mexican American. If this is the case, historical trends should prevail in the residential projections of these young people (i.e., the youth will desire urban residence). However, if a significant change in the residential orientations of the rural Mexican-American youth along the border is found, then these models may provide a basis for explaining its causes.

This paper is an attempt to assess the stability or change in the residential orientations of rural Mexican American youth living in proximity to the Texas-Mexico border. Achieving this goal requires answers to questions such as: What are the dispositions of rural Mexican-American youth toward rural and urban life? Do these young Mexican Americans feel compelled to reside in either rural or urban communities? How much emphasis do they place on residence as a life goal? Are the residential dispositions of these people changing over time?

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A review of the relevant research literature provides some valuable orientations to the study of residential projections among rural youth. However, this empirical literature is highly varied in terms of quality and scope.

Perhaps the study with the smallest scope is that done by Robin and Sardo in Sedgwick County, Colorado in 1964. This rural county supplied the researchers with 93 high school respondents. The study showed that 62 percent of the males and 65 percent of the females preferred urban (over 2,500) residence. When the respondents were categorized on a rural farm and rural

nonfarm basis, the data showed that 50 percent of the former group desired urban residence while 69 percent of the latter group had such desires (Robin and Sardo, 1964:12).[2]

Cowhig and his associates conducted a study in 1958 with a somewhat larger scope in that it involved four contiguous rural counties in Michigan with a total of 545 high school seniors as respondents. These researchers found that 24 percent of the males and 38 percent of the females prefered urban (over 2,500) residence. When the respondents were divided by current place of residence it was found that 21 percent of the farm respondents, 20 percent of the open country respondents and 55 percent of the village respondents aspired toward urban residence (Cowhig, Artis, Beegle and Goldsmith; 1960: 19).

Schwarzweller adds another dimension and increases the scope of study in his 1960 effort. Schwarzweller sampled 451 high school seniors in eight rural counties of Kentucky. These counties were equally divided between the Bluegrass and Mountain regions of the state. In this study 49 percent of the males and 68 percent of the females desired urban (not defined) residence. While aspirations for urban residence are not treated in the remainder of the report, Schwarzweller does give figures for those aspiring to migrate. In this respect is was found that 29 percent of the Bluegrass males and 50 percent of the Mountain males wanted to live elsewhere.[3] Similarly 40 percent of the Bluegrass females and 70 percent of the Mountain females wanted to locate elsewhere. On the basis of a

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[2]Robin and Sardo presented their data in raw number form (Table 6). Computation of percentages and other data manipulations are the responsibility of the authors of this paper.

[3]It must be noted that the economic conditions of the mountains are much worse than those of the Bluegrass area (Schwarzweller, 1960: 8, 14).

farm-nonfarm dichotomy, the data shows that 40 percent nonfarm males and 35 percent of the farm males prefer migration. Also, 59 percent of the nonfarm females and 46 percent of the farm females wish to live elsewhere. Schwarzweller adds the notion of plans for migration in addition to aspirations for migration. Presumably, since Schwarzweller does not clearly state this, when asked about what he/she plans to do the respondent is subjected to his/her own rational evaluation of what is feasible as well as what he/she desires or aspires to. The figures reported under plans for migration varied somewhat from the figures on Aspirations but the patterns across sex, region and farm-nonfarm residence did not vary (Schwarzweller, 1960: 5-23).

Youmans and his colleagues conducted a survey in 1962 which was of a more limited scope but added the important factor of racial variations. Their data set was comprised of 171 Black and 240 White high school seniors in three contiguous rural counties in northern Florida. Their data shows that 69 percent of the Black males and 73 percent of the Black females desired urban (not defined) residence. Comparably, only 35 percent of the White males and 68 percent of the White females wanted to live in the city (Youmans, Grigsby and King; 1965:4, 16).[4]

Kuvlesky and Pelham added a much needed thoroughness and clarity to the development of residence projection studies. Their 1966 bi-racial study of three East Texas rural counties involved 197 Black and 287 White high school sophomores. This data revealed 33 percent of the White males

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[4]Youmans et. al. presented their data in four categories of residential aspirations: (1) large city (2) small city (3) small town and (4) country (Table 6). For this paper we collapsed the first two categories into the urban classification.

and 56 percent of the White females desired urban (not defined) residence. Similarly, 72 percent of the Black males and 80 percent of the Black females wanted to live in the cities.[5] The design of this study also involved the analysis of related variables such as residence expectations, intensity of aspirations, certainty of expectations, anticipatory goal deflection. They were also the first to collect data separating rural residences in regard to being near a city or not near a city. (Kuvlesky and Pelham; 1967). (For an explanation of these variables, see the "Concepts and Measures" section of this paper.)

Finally, Lever in 1974 added the dimension of historical change. Using data collected under Kuvlesky in both 1966 and 1972 in the same three East Texas counties, Lever assessed the changes in residence projections over time. In both years, the data collected concerned high school sophomore cohorts. The 1972 study netted 191 Blacks and 270 Whites. Lever's analysis showed that over the six year period, the percentage of youth desiring urban residence had declined in all race and sex categories. Black males dropped 10 percent, Black females declined 3 percent, White males down 14 percent, and White females were down 22 percent from the levels reported by Kuvlesky and Pelham in 1967. (Lever, 1974:6).

Further manipulation of Lever's data reveals that this decrease in urban aspirations was also consistent across all race and current residence categories. Farm Blacks dropped 17 percent; nonfarm Blacks decreased 3 percent. Both farm and nonfarm Whites dropped around 22 percent.[6]

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[5]Kuvlesky and Pelham reported their data in five categories: (1) large city, (2) small city, (3) town or village, (4) open country nonfarm and (5) farm. The urban aspirations in this paper are the sum of the percentages in the first two categories (Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1967: Table 3, page 9).

[6]Lever did not report his data in this fashion in his 1974 paper. The manipulations of his data are the responsibility of the authors.

In summary, the review of literature shows that the study of rural youths' residence projections has evolved toward greater complexity and accuracy over the years. Also some striking patterns have appeared across virtually all of these studies. (1) Females are more likely to desire urban residence than males regardless of differences in race, region and current residence. (2) Blacks are more likely to desire urban residence than Whites regardless of differences in sex, region and current residence. (3) Nonfarm dwellers are more likely to desire urban residence than farm dwellers regardless of differences in sex, race and region.[7]

This study represents an effort to extend the analysis of youth residence projections to the Mexican American population of South Texas.

DATA COLLECTION AND SPECIFICATION OF OBJECTIVES

In the springs of 1967 and 1973, interviewers trained and supervised by Dr. William Kuvlesky distributed questionnaires to all the sophomore students present in five South Texas high schools.[8] These schools are located in Dimmit, Zapata and Starr Counties.

Although the interview teams in the two years were composed of different individuals, extensive efforts were made to make their procedures as similar as possible. After distributing the questionnaire, one of the team members read through the entire interview schedule allowing time for the students to respond after each question. The majority of the interview schedules was

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[7]The Kuvlesky-Pelham study presents an exception to this statement in that Black farm youth desired urban residence at a slightly higher rate than did Black nonfarm youth.

[8]Two clarifications must be made here: (1) The 1967 effort included seven schools, two of which did not wish to cooperate in 1973 because of problems with other research efforts in the interim period. These were deleted from the 1967 data set in this analysis for purposes of comparability. (2) The Anglo students and other ethnic minorities present on the days of the data collection completed interview schedules but were deleted from this study leaving only Mexican Americans.

identical for the two data collection efforts. However, the 1973 instrument asked for additional information on labeling, migrant status, value orientations, etc. at the end. Nevertheless, all variables used in this analysis were identical in wording and occurred in the same order on both instruments.

These procedures succeeded in obtaining 341 completed schedules from Mexican American students in 1967. In the 1973 effort, 379 Mexican American respondents completed interviews.

From this data, we will strive to describe the changes and trends concerning various aspects of these students' residential hopes and expectations. This will be done in a manner that will facilitate comparison with the findings presented in the review of literature section. Additionally, we will attempt to go beyond previous work by examining some relevant variables that may give a basis for hypothetical explanations as to why the changes occurred. Finally, we will endeavor a risky evaluation of the impact of these changes on the Mexican American population of these three South Texas counties.

However, prior to analyzing the residential projections of these respondents, it is essential to examine the changes in the local social and economic environment and make some prediction as to their effects on the dispositions of these students.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The 1970 census provides a good statistical description of the study area (see Table 1). The census data was collected near the midpoint of the time lapse between our data collections. A cursory analysis of the census data reveals that our study area has a high concentration of Mexican Americans mostly residing in rural areas. Education and income are low in comparison with the state wide figures for the Spanish-surname population. Employment is

largely in Agriculture and retail trade. Unemployment rates are higher than those of the Spanish-surname population as a whole. These figures indicate that the educational and economic environment of the study population is one of limited opportunity. If the respondents are aware of this relative lack of opportunity, then it is likely that they will be somewhat disenchanted with rural life.

The five high schools that were visited ranged in size from a sophomore class of 30 to a sophomore class of 248. Their physical facilities and educational equipment varied from moderate to poor in terms of both quantity and quality. Over the six year period, there was little change noted by the field interviewers. However, it is assumed that the schools became a bit more crowded. This is indicated by the increases in their sophomore class enrollment.

The data collected on family background during both studies reveals several moderate changes. Slight increases were registered in parental educational attainment. Mean level of education was up slightly for both parents as was percent graduated from high school. Employment changed in the opposite direction. The percentage of fathers in the labor market decreased along with the percentage of fathers actively employed. There was an accompanying increase in the percentage of fathers holding low status jobs and an increase in the percentage of mothers seeking employment.[9]

Overall, the changes in the environmental influences appear to be slight. To the extent that changes did occur they have generally been for the worse. The slight magnitude of change makes any prediction of changing values

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[9]For a more detailed analysis of changes in the families, schools and counties see: Kuvlesky, William P. and Phillip M. Monk, "Historical Change in Status Aspirations and Expectations of Mexican-American Youth from the Border Area of Texas: 1967-1973." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association (March 27, 1975).

Table 1: Census Description of the Spanish Surname Population in the Study Area.

	Population Characteristics				Education Characteristics			
	Total Population	Spanish Surname Population	Percent Spanish Surname	Percent Rural (Total Population)	Median Number of School Years Completed		Percent High School Graduates	
					Male	Female	Male	Female
Dimmit	9,039	7,381	81.6	40	3.2	4.0	9.4	10.8
Starr	17,707	17,330	97.9	68	5.7	6.0	18.8	22.3
Zapata	4,352	3,984	91.5	100	5.3	5.0	25.4	12.3
Texas	11,196,730	1,649,677	14.7	20	6.7(total)		20.0(total)	

Table 1 (Cont.). Economic Characteristics

	Percent of Spanish Surname Over 16 in Labor Force		Percent of Spanish Surname Labor Force Unemployed		Three Largest Industries for Spanish Surname - Number of Employees	Family Income of Spanish Surname		Percent of Spanish Surname Families Below Poverty Level
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Median	Mean	
Dimmit	65.8	23.0	8.3	14.0	(1) Agriculture . . . . . 542 (2) Retail Trade. . . . . 354 (3) Construction. 133	3,527	4,173	62.2
Starr	56.6	27.4	9.1	4.1	(1) Agricultrue . . . . . 901 (2) Education . . . . . 845 (3) Retail Trade 644	3,593	5,060	52.1
Zapata	56.3	20.6	7.7	0	(1) Construction . . . . . 184 (2) Agriculture . . . . . 165 (3) Education 132	3,313	4,413	57.8
Texas	76.2	34.2	4.9	7.1	(1) Retail Trade . . . 111,360 (2) Manufacturing . . . 104,369 (3) Professional Services 79,607	5,603	6,449	34.0

perilous. However, to the extent that these students can generalize and project their hardships to the rural lifestyle, it can be assumed that they will have less positive perceptions of rural residence.

CONCEPTS AND MEASURES (See APPENDIX A)

Residence aspiration refers to the place the respondent would most like to live if he/she were completely free to choose. Residence expectation is the place the respondent feels he/she will most likely live after taking into account the realities of his/her situation. To the extent that these aspirations and expectations differ anticipatory goal deflection is said to exist. If the respondent's aspiration is rural and his/her expectation is urban then anticipatory goal deflection is rural to urban. If the respondent's aspiration is urban and his/her expectation is rural then anticipatory goal deflection is classified as urban to rural. If there is no difference between aspiration and expectation there there is no anticipatory goal deflection. Intensity of aspiration is the degree of importance that the respondent attaches to his desired residence in relation to six other life goals Certainty of expectations measures how sure the respondent is that he/she will realize their expectations.

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The numbers presented in the tables are percentage distributions rounded to the whole digit.

The computations of Chi Square were done twice because of the confounding effects of the large increases in "no information." The first set of computations includes the "no information" cells. The second set of Chi Square values has the "no information" frequencies deleted.

Residence Aspirations (Table 2)

The most notable change from 1967 to 1973 is a decrease in the percentage of youth aspiring to live in a city. This trend is more pronounced for males than for the females in the sample. Over half of the females held urban residential aspirations compared to slightly over a third of the male sample in 1973. This is a significant drop from 1967 when over two-thirds of the youth in both sex-categories desired to live in a city.

There is an almost equal decline in urban aspirations, regardless of the size of the city (i.e. large or small city) for the male population, but for the females in the sample the decrease is almost exclusively contained within the large city, with a decrease of only one percent of those desiring to live in a small city from 1967 to 1973.

The greatest increase over both sex categories occurred in the "no response" category. More than a quarter of the male population in 1973 gave no information for residential aspirations, compared to 15% of the females, a 24% and 9% increase from 1967, respectively.

A slightly increasing percentage of males in 1973 desired residence in a town or village, or on a farm. The number of males wishing to live in the country, but specifically not on a farm decreased slightly. The male sample did not discriminate between their rural residence aspirations existing near or not near a city since both categories increased at approximately equal percentages.

The females in 1973 exhibited slight increases in desiring to live in a town or village, and in the country, but not a farm. A slightly smaller number of females desired to live on a farm in 1973 than in 1967. These females indicated a preference that their residence aspirations not be near a city in 1973.

Table 2. Residential Aspirations by Sex. South Texas, 1967-73.

Residence Aspiration (22)	Male			Female		
	1967	1973	Change	1967	1973	Change
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(In a City)	(67)	(36)	(-31)	(68)	(56)	(-12)
1 = Very Large	25	9	-16	22	11	-11
2 = Small	42	27	-15	46	45	-1
(Near a City)	(24)	(28)	(4)	(24)	(23)	(-1)
3 = In a Town/Village	6	9	3	9	11	2
4 = Country/Not Farm	12	9	-3	9	11	2
5 = On a Farm	6	10	4	6	1	-5
(Not Near a City)	(5)	(8)	(3)	(2)	(6)	(4)
6 = In Town/Village	1	3	2	0	1	1
7 = Country/Not Farm	2	2	0	2	4	2
8 = On a Farm	2	3	1	0	1	1
0 = No Information	(4)	(28)	(24)	(6)	(15)	(9)
TOTAL	99.98%	100.01%	0	100.00%	100.02%	0
		X^2: 58.29 dif: 8 p: > .001			X^2: 27.37 dif: 8 p: <.001	

χ^2: 22.37
d.f.: 7
P : <.01, >.001

χ^2 : 20.38
d.f. : 7
P : <.01; >.001

Residence Expectations (Table 3)

In 1973, the expectations of rural Mexican-American youth to live in urban areas dropped, but not as sharply as aspirations did in Table 2. As in aspirations, the trend in 1973 is more pronounced for the males than for the females in the sample, decreasing 14 percent and 6 percent, respectively, from 1967, when approximately two-thirds of the youth in both sex categories expected to live in the cities.

Breaking down the urban expectations into smaller categories, it is seen that the percentage of males expecting to live in a large city decreased more than the percentage expecting to live in a smaller urban area. Even though in 1967 almost twice as many males expected to live in a small city as in a large city, the percentage of those expecting to live in a large city in 1973 decreased ten percent compared to a four percent decrease in those expecting to live in a small city. Conversely, the percentage of females expecting to live in a large city remained constant from 1973 to 1967. The total decrease in female urban expectations reflects a decrease in the number of females expecting to live in small cities.

There was not as great an increase in "no information" for expectations, Table 3, as there was in Table 2. Only eight percent of the males and two percent of the females in the population gave no information in 1973 for expectations, an increase of five percent and one percent from 1967, respectively.

Total rural expectations increased 9 percent for males, and 5 percent for females in 1973. The rural area that increased the most consistently across both sex categories for residence expectations was the town or village.

There was a slight increase in the proportion of males expecting to live on a farm and a very slight decrease of males expecting to live in the country but not on a farm in 1973.

For the females in the sample in 1973, a slightly decreasing percentage of females expected to live on a farm, and there was a slight increase in those expecting to live in the country, but not on a farm.

These trends for rural residence expectations are fairly consistent or remained the same across time whether they were situated near a city or not near a city.

Goal Deflection (Table 4)

The greatest increase, causing limitations on the interpretation of this table, was in the "no response" category, a 27 percent increase for males and 9 percent for females. The most notable change between 1967 and 1973 in anticipatory goal deflection for both sex categories is a decrease in the proportion of youth experiencing no change between aspirations and expectations. In 1973, females perceiving urban aspirations and expecting to live in a rural area increased slightly. There was a decrease in the male counterparts, with urban aspirations and rural expectations. The portion of males with rural aspirations who expected to live in an urban area increased by 4 percent, with an increase of corresponding females by only one percent.

Residence Goal Intensity (Table 5)

For males, the percentage with high residence goal intensities (1, 2) remained unchanged from 1967 to 1973, but a notable 7 percent shifted from the intermediate intensities (3, 4, 5) to the lower intensities (6, 7). Females exhibited a nearly identical pattern. The trend was away from the intermediate range of goal intensity toward lower intensities with respect to residence

Table 3. Residential Expectations by Sex. South Texas. 1967-1973.

Residence Expectations (23)	Male			Female		
	1967 N = 169 %	1973 N = 178 %	Change %	1967 N = 172 %	1973 N = 201 %	Change %
(In a City)	(66)	(52)	(-14)	(68)	(62)	(-6)
1 = Very Large	24	14	-10	15	15	0
2 = Small	42	38	-4	53	47	-6
(Near a City)	(24)	(29)	(5)	(28)	(29)	(1)
3 = In a Town/Village	9.5	12	2.5	14	18	4
4 = In Country/Not Farm	9.5	9	-.5	9	10	1
5 = On a Farm	5	8	3	5	1	-4
(Not Near a City)	(7)	(11)	(4)	(3)	(7)	(4)
6 = In Town/Village	2	6	4	1	3	2
7 = In Country/Not Farm	2	2	0	2	3	1
8 = On a Farm	3	3	0	0	1	1
0 = No Information	(3)	(8)	(5)	(1)	(2)	(1)
TOTAL	100.02%	100.00%	0	100.00%	100.00%	0
		X^2 = 14.73 d.f. = 8 p = > .05, <.06			X^2 = 12.93 d.f. = 8 p = > .11, <.12	
(NO INFORMATION DELETED)		X^2 = 10.69 d.f. = 7 p = > .1, <.2			X^2 = 12.52 d.f. = 7 p = >.08, <.09	

Table 4. Anticipatory Goal Deflection - Residence, South Texas: 1967-1973.

Aspirations/Expectations	Male			Female		
	1967 N = 169 %	1973 N = 178 %	Change %	1967 N = 172 %	1973 N = 201 %	Change %
Urban to Rural	7	4	-3	8	11	3
Rural to Urban	5	9	4	6	7	1
No Deflection	84	56	-28	80	67	-13
No Information	(4)	(31)	(27)	(6)	(15)	(9)
TOTAL	100	100	0	100	100	0
	$X^2 = 48.09$ d.f. = 3 p = <.001			$X^2 = 9.87$ d.f. = 3 p = >.01, <.05		
(NO INFORMATION DELETED)	$X^2 = 5.9$ d.f. = 2 p = >.05, <.06			$X^2 = 2.3$ d.f. = 2 p = >.3, <.4		

aspiration. Although the pattern is not a strong one, there is a clear tendency to consider residence as less important among life goals.

Certainty of Residence Expectation (Table 6)

The females in 1973 exhibited a shift from the middle ground, or the "not very sure," upward to the "sure" and "very sure" categories, indicating a slight increase in confidence with respect to residence expectation. The percentage of females in the certain categories remained the same in 1973 as in 1967.

The males exhibited a similar pattern involving a larger proportion. Although the percentage of males responding "very sure" did not change in 1973, an increase of 20 percent of the males responding in the "sure" category corresponds with a decrease in the "not very sure" (24 percent) and "uncertain" (2 percent) responses. There was a 1 percent increase in males indicating they were very uncertain about their residence expectations in 1973.

There were only slight increases in the proportion of respondents giving no information; five percent and three percent for males and females, respectively.

Residential Aspirations by Modal Residence[10] (Table 7)

The first glaring trend is the decrease in urban aspirations over all the modal residence categories. These decreases are consistently large but the decreases among city dwellers is the largest. Similarly, it should be noted that each modal residence category, except the city dwellers, showed an increase in the percentage of aspirants wishing to remain in the same setting

[10] Modal residence is a term used to refer to the residential setting in which the respondent has lived most of his/her life (see Appendix A).

Table 5. Residence Goal Intensity. South Texas. 1967-1973.

Goal Intensity (33)	Male			Female		
	1967 N = 169 %	1973 N = 178 %	Change %	1967 N = 172 %	1973 N = 201 %	Change %
High	(8)	(8)	(0)	(5)	(5)	(0)
1	1	4	3	3	2	-1
2	7	4	-3	2	3	1
Intermediate	(71)	(64)	(-7)	(80)	(71)	(-9)
3	11	15	4	8	16	8
4	31	30	-1	39	30	-9
5	29	19	-10	33	25	-8
Low	(20)	(27)	(7)	(14)	(20)	(6)
6	16	20	4	12	17	5
7	4	7	3	2	3	1
0 = No Information	(1)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(4)	(3)
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	0	100.00%	100.00%	0
		$X^2 = 10.99$ d.f. = 7 p = > .13, <.14			$X^2 = 15.06$ d.f. = 7 p = > .03, <.04	
(NO INFORMATION DELETED)		$X^2 = 10.99$ d.f. = 6 p = > .08, <.09			$X^2 = 15.06$ d.f. = 6 p = > .1, <.2	

Table 6. Certainty of Residence Expectations. South Texas 1967-1973.

Certainty (24)	Male			Female		
	1967 N = 169 %	1973 N = 178 %	Change %	1967 N = 172 %	1973 N = 201 %	Chang %
1 = Very Sure	15	15	0	5	7	2
2 = Sure	28	48	20	27	30	3
3 = Not Very Sure	49	25	-24	58	50	-8
4 = Uncertain	6	4	-2	7	7	0
5 = Very Uncertain	1	2	1	1	1	0
0 = No Information	(1)	(6)	(5)	(2)	(5)	(3)
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	0	100.00%	100.00%	0
		X^2 = 30.93 d.f. = 5 p = <.001			X^2 = 5.31 d.f. = 5 p = > .3, <.4	
(NO INFORMATION DELETED)		X^2 = 22.8 d.f. = 4 p = <.001			X^2 = 2.43 d.f. = 4 p = > .6, <.7	

(e.g. town or village by town or village dwellers increased 5.3 percent). Note also that the percentage of farm dwellers desiring farm residence in the future increased more than any other single cell in the table (except "no information").

Another clear trend is the across-the-board increase in the percentage of Mexican-American youth who are aspiring to town or village residence. Although the increases are small, they are consistent.

One last interesting note is that the decrease in urban aspirations among city dwellers was spread through all of the other three aspiration categories. However, the farm setting attracted the largest percentage of disenchanted urbanites.

Residential Aspirations by Farm-Nonfarm Modal Residence (Table 8)

In the interest of continuity with past research, a collapsed version of the previous table is presented here. Although modal residence is not synonymous with current residence, the comparison seems appropriate (see Table 8).

The Mexican-American farm youth are less attracted to urban aspirations than are the nonfarm youth in both 1967 and 1973. This finding is consistent with the findings reported in other studies (see review of literature section).

Another important finding revealed by this table is that a majority of the farm dwellers in 1967 desired urban residence. However, by 1973 this was no longer the case. A clear majority of the 1973 farm dwellers preferred rural residence.

Table 7: Residential Aspirations by Modal Residence

Residential Aspirations	City			Town or Village			Open Country			Farm		
	1967	1973	Change	1967	1973	Change	1967	1973	Change	1967	1973	Change
Urban	77.4	47.1	-30.3	71.3	53.6	-17.7	60.9	35.6	-25.3	50.0	35.5	-14.5
Town or Village	5.7	8.0	+ 2.3	9.6	14.9	+ 5.3	5.8	8.2	+ 2.4	10.4	12.9	+ 2.5
Open Country	6.6	9.2	+ 2.6	7.8	10.5	+ 2.7	23.2	28.8	+ 5.6	16.7	6.5	-10.2
Farm	2.8	8.0	+ 5.2	7.8	3.9	- 3.9	5.8	4.1	- 1.7	16.7	25.8	+ 9.1
No Information	7.5	27.6	+20.1	3.5	17.1	+13.6	4.3	23.3	+19.0	6.2	19.4	+13.2
TOTAL	100.0%	99.9%	- 0.1	100.0%	100.0%	-----	100.0%	100.0%	-----	100.0%	100.1%	+ 0.1
	N=106	N=87		N=115	N=181		N=69	N=73		N=48	N=31	

("NO INFORMATION" INCLUDED) d.f. = 28 X^2 = 127.25 p < .001

("NO INFORMATION" DELETED) d.f. = 21 X^2 = 85.26 p < .001

Table 8. Residential Aspirations by Farm-Nonfarm Modal Residence.

Residence Aspirations	Farm			Nonfarm		
	1967	1973	Change	1967	1973	Change
Urban	53.3	44.0	- 9.3	74.9	61.0	-13.9
Rural	46.7	56.0	+ 9.3	25.1	39.0	+13.9
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	
	N=45	N=25		N=275	N=269	
No Information	3	6		15	72	
("NO INFORMATION" INCLUDED)			d.f. = 6 $p < .001$			$X^2 = 59.73$
("NO INFORMATION" DELETED)			d.f. = 3 $p < .001$			$X^2 = 21.36$

Residential Expectations by Modal Residence (Table 9)

All modal residence categories decreased in urban residential expectations except the farm category. The increase in farm expectations is an intriguing finding in view of the decrease in the percentage of farm dwellers aspiring to urban residence. It appears that farm dwellers are more pessimistic about the feasibility of life in rural areas than are the residents of other settings. It is important to observe that all modal categories except open country still have a majority of their aspirants expecting to live in the cities. The largest portion of the urban expectation decrease among city and town or village dwellers went toward an increase in town or village expectations (+ 11.1 and 4.9 percent, respectively). The open country dwellers showed their largest increase in open country expectations. For farm dwellers, the largest increase was a scant 1.5 percent rise in farm expectations. The large 13.5 percent decrease among farm dwellers expecting open country residence is consistent with their decrease in open country aspirations.

As with aspirations, each modal category except city experienced increases in its corresponding expectation category (e.g. the percentage of farm dwellers expecting farm residence increased 1.5 percent).

Rurality Score by Modal Residence (Table 10)

The 1973 interview schedule contained a set of six value statements concerning rural people and rural lifestyles (see Appendix A). These statements were scored one for the least rural response, three for an intermediate response, and five for the most rural response. The range of total scores (i.e., 6 to 30) was divided at the mid-point to arrive at the low - high dichotomy presented here (see Table 10).

Table 9. Residential Expectations by Modal Residence

Residential Expectations	City			Town or Village			Open Country			Farm		
	1967	1973	Change	1967	1973	Change	1967	1973	Change	1967	1973	Change
Urban	83.0	63.2	-19.8	68.7	58.6	-10.1	52.2	49.3	- 2.9	54.2	61.3	+ 7.1
Town or Village	3.8	14.9	+11.1	20.0	24.9	+ 4.9	15.9	11.0	- 4.9	12.5	12.9	+ 0.4
Open Country	4.7	8.0	+ 3.3	5.2	8.3	+ 3.1	26.1	32.9	+ 6.8	16.7	3.2	-13.5
Farm	4.7	6.9	+ 2.2	6.1	5.0	- 1.1	2.9	4.1	+ 1.2	14.6	16.1	+ 1.5
No Information	3.8	6.9	+ 3.1	0	3.3	+ 3.3	2.9	2.7	- 0.2	2.1	6.5	+ 4.4
TOTAL	100.0%	99.9%	- 0.1	100.0%	100.1%	+ 0.1	100.0%	100.0%	-----	100.1%	100.0%	- 0.1
	N=106	N=87		N=115	N=181		N=69	N=73		N=48	N=31	

("NO INFORMATION" INCLUDED) d.f. = 28 X^2 = 109.15 p < .001

("NO INFORMATION" DELETED) d.f. = 21 X^2 = 100.11 p < .001

This table indicates that as the modal residences increase in rurality so do the values. Considering the farm dwellers' increase in urban expectations to a level of 61 percent, and that 63 percent of the farm dwellers scored high on the index of rural values, one must conclude that a sizable percentage of the farm youth consider urban life an unpleasant economic necessity.

Residential Aspirations by Socio-Economic Status (Tables 11 and 12)

In this study, socio-economic status (SES) is based upon the occupation of the main bread winner in the respondents' households. Those main bread winners who held unskilled jobs were classified as low SES while skilled workers, managers, proprietors and professionals were classified as high SES. (see Table 11).

Despite a sizable decrease in urban aspirations among the low SES respondents, a majority still preferred urban residence in 1973. Changes in the other residential settings were only slight for the low SES respondents. The 3.9 percent increase in town or village aspirations represents the largest increase in any of the residential settings. It is clear that the low SES respondents are not very favorably oriented toward farm residence. In both 1967 and 1973, the farm setting ranked last in attracting low SES youth. Concurrently, the decrease in farm aspirations of 2.6 percent over the six year period further emphasizes this finding.

An analysis of the high SES respondents reveals a somewhat different picture. Although the percentage of high SES respondents desiring urban residence decreased as did the percentage of low SES respondents, the high SES category decreased at a much higher rate. By 1973, less than one-half of the high SES respondents aspired to urban residence. The magnitude of the

Table 10. Rurality Score by Modal Residence

Rurality Score	Urban	Town or Village	Open Country	Farm
High (19-30)	41	51	55	63
Low (6-18)	59	49	45	37
TOTAL	100 % N=83	100 % N=169	100 % N=67	100 % N=30

("NO INFORMATION" INCLUDED) d.f. = 4 X^2 = 11.72
p > .01, < .05

("NO INFORMATION" DELETED) d.f. = 3 X^2 = 5.65
p > 0.1, < 0.2

Table 11. Residential Aspirations by Socio-Economic Status.

Residential Aspirations	Low 1967	Low 1973	Change	High 1967	High 1973	Change
Urban	68.1	52.7	-15.4	70.3	44.8	-25.5
Town or Village	9.7	13.6	+ 3.9	5.2	11.2	+ 6.0
Open Country	9.0	10.9	+ 1.9	13.5	16.4	+ 2.9
Farm	6.9	4.3	- 2.6	6.5	11.2	+ 4.7
No Information	6.2	18.5	+12.3	4.5	16.4	+11.9
TOTAL	99.9% N=144	100.0% N=184	+ 0.1	100.0% N=155	100.0% N=116	

("NO INFORMATION" INCLUDED) d.f. = 12 X^2 = 45.65
p < .001

("NO INFORMATION" DELETED) d.f. = 9 X^2 = 23.08
p > .001, < .01

increase in town or village residence was the highest of the aspiration categories. This pattern is also similar to the one exhibited by the low SES category. However, the farm aspirations for the high SES respondents exhibited a moderate increase. This is opposed to the trend among low SES respondents.

A collapsed and rearranged version of this table reveals some additional findings (see Table 12).

In 1967, there was virtually no difference between the two SES groups in terms of residential aspirations. However, by 1973 the low SES group showed a much higher preference for urban residence than did the high SES group.

This analysis suggests that the swing from urban to rural aspirations is stronger among the high SES Mexican Americans.[11]

Rurality Score by Socio-Economic Status (Table 13)

The majority of high SES Mexican American youth demonstrate a high score in positive attitudes concerning rural life and people. The rate of high scores on the rurality index was 14.2 percent higher for high status Mexican-American youth than for their low status counterparts.

A slight majority of the low SES students scored low in the rurality index, indicating a more negative view of the rural environment and lifestyle.

The findings here coupled with the findings on residential aspirations by SES indicate that the trend toward rural residence orientations is primarily a middle class phenomena.

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[11] In the 1967 sample, 48.2 percent of the main breadwinners held low status jobs. In the 1973 sample, 61.3 percent of the breadwinners held low status jobs. This is not likely to be an artifact of sampling, since the entire sophomore classes were sampled. More likely, this is a reflection of the continued economic decline of these rural South Texas counties.

Table 12. Residential Aspirations by Socio-Economic Status.

Residential Aspirations	Low 1967	High 1967	Low 1973	High 1973
Urban	68.1	70.3	52.7	44.8
Rural	25.7	25.2	28.8	38.8
No Response	6.2	4.5	18.5	16.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	N=144	N=155	N=184	N=116

("NO INFORMATION" INCLUDED) d.f. = 6 X^2 = 35.8 p < .001

("NO INFORMATION" DELETED) d.f. = 3 X^2 = 13.13 p > .001, < .01

Table 13. Rurality Score by Socio-Economic Status (1973)

Rurality Score	Low	High
High (19-30)	41.8	56.0
Low (6-18)	51.6	41.4
No Response	6.5	2.6
Total	99.9%	100.0%
	N=184	N=116

("NO INFORMATION" INCLUDED) d.f. = 2; X^2 = 6.8 p > .01, <.05

("NO INFORMATION" DELETED d.f. = 1 X^2 = 4.44 p > .01, <.05

Residential Aspirations by Migrant Status (1973) (Table 14)

It seems likely that those students that have traveled in the migrant stream would have a different perspective concerning residential aspirations than the students who have not had migrant experience. The nature (positive or negative) of the migrants' attitudes toward rural lifestyles would be difficult to predict. However, considering the reported miseries of migrant living quarters and their harsh working conditions, one would expect them to be negatively oriented toward rural residence. (see Table 14).

As expected, the migrants show a definite preference for urban residence; however, they do not differ markedly from the nonmigrants. Thus, we must conclude that migrant status is not a highly significant factor in the determination of residential goals.

Residential Aspirations by Metropolitan Experience (Table 15)

As with migrant status, one would expect those students having resided in metropolitan areas to differ from those who have not had such an experience in their residential preferences. Given the urban disenchantment hypothesis put forth in the introduction, the expected result would be that those with metropolitan experience would prefer rural residence more frequently than would their inexperienced counterparts. (see Table 15).

A significant majority (2 out of 3) of the Mexican-American youth having lived in metropolitan areas held urban aspirations. This is opposed to the hypothesis presented above. There are several possible explanations for this finding but they are all purely conjecture: (1) Perhaps the students who have lived in metropolitan settings do not identify with the negative aspects of urban life. (2) Perhaps they feel the excitement and employment opportunities of the urban areas are worth the costs of crime, pollution and

Table 14. Residential Aspirations by Migrant Status (1973)

Residential Aspirations	Yes	No
Urban	62.6	58.3
Rural	37.4	41.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	N=91	N=192
("NO INFORMATION" DELETED)	d.f. = 1; X^2 = 0.48	p > .05, < .06

Table 15. Residential Aspirations by Metropolitan Experience (1973)

Residential Aspirations	Yes	No
Urban	66.7	57.3
Rural	33.3	42.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	N=72	N=213
("NO INFORMATION" DELETED)	d.f. = 1; X^2 = 1.97	p < 0.1, > 0.2

crowding. (3) Perhaps their urban experiences were pleasant and they have not adjusted to their present rural environment. (4) Perhaps they regret having left friends or relatives in metropolitan areas.

Detailing the possible causes of this finding is not a practical task at this point, but when one recalls the large decrease in urban aspirations among those students citing the city as their modal residence (Table 7) this finding becomes all the more surprising.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The most dramatic and confounding historical change was the increase in "no information." There are several possible reasons for this trend: increasing aversion to questionnaires, differing atmospheres or moods set by the interviewers or differing situational variables in the schools or communities. However, none of these hypotheses are empirically verifiable with the data available.

This increase in "no information" has some serious implications for the analysis of the data. There is a remote possibility that those variables showing declines over the study period may be in reality increasing if the respondents not giving information were homogeneous with respect to the variable. However, in instances where the decline is greater than the increase in "no information" the variable must have actually declined (e.g., Residential Aspirations - In a City - Both Sexes - Table 2). Similarly, those variables showing increases despite the rise in "no information" must have actually increased. However, the degree of increase for the variable is probably not adequately reflected.

Table 2:

1. Both sexes declined in the percentages of their members aspiring to

urban residence over the six year period.

2. A majority of the females preferred urban residence in both years. While a majority of the males in 1967 desired urban residence, by 1973 slightly over one-third held urban aspirations.

3. Both sexes in both years clearly preferred residence near a city to residence not near a city.

4. Males showed a slight increase in farm aspirations from 1967 to 1973 while females registered a slight decrease in this category.

Table 3:

1. Both sexes decreased in urban expectations over the six year span.

2. A majority of both sexes for both years expected urban residence. Females expected urban residence more than males in both years.

3. Both sexes for both years showed much higher percentages expecting to live near a city than expecting not to live near a city.

4. Of the rural residence settings, town or village near a city registered the highest rate of expectations for both sexes in both years.

5. Males expecting farm residence increased slightly while females expecting farm residence decreased slightly.

Table 4:

1. Anticipatory goal deflection showed little change except that which was caused by increases in no information. Males increased slightly in rural to urban deflection, while females increased slightly in urban to rural deflection.

Table 5:

1. The importance of residence in relation to six other life goals decreased slightly over the six year period for both sexes.

Table 6:

1. Both sexes increased in certainty of th[illegible] residential expectations.

2. Males were more certain than females for [illegible]oth years.

Table 7:

1. The percentage of Mexican Americans desiring urban residence decreased in all modal residence categories. City dwellers decreased the most in urban aspirations.

2. There was an increase in students aspiring to town or village residence in all modal residence categories.

3. Each modal residence category, except the city dwellers, showed an increase in the percentage of aspirants wishing to remain in the same setting.

4. The 9.5 percent increase in farm dwellers aspiring to farm residence was the largest increase over the six year period (except "no information").

5. The largest percentage of disenchanted city dwellers desired farm residence.

Table 8:

1. Nonfarm dwellers preferred urban residence at a higher rate than farm dwellers for both years.

2. A clear majority of the 1973 farm dwellers preferred rural residence.

Table 9:

1. All modal residence categories, except farm dwellers, decreased in percentages expecting urban residence during the six year span.

2. The majority of each modal category, except open country dwellers in 1973, expected urban residence.

3. Each modal category, except city dwellers, registered an increase

in the percentage of students expecting to live in the same residential setting.

4. Farm dwellers showed a large decrease in expectations of living in the open country setting.

Table 10:

1. As modal residence increases in rurality, so does the percentage of respondents scoring high on the rurality index (1973 only).

Table 11:

1. Both socio-economic categories decreased, over the six year period, in the percentages of their constituents aspiring to urban residence. High SES respondents demonstrated a larger decrease in urban aspirations than the low SES respondents.

2. Low SES respondents are not favorably oriented toward farm residence.

3. By 1973, less than one-half of the high SES respondents held urban aspirations.

Table 12:

1. In 1967, variations in socio-economic status had little bearing on residential aspirations, but by 1973 there was a considerable change. High SES respondents were more likely to desire rural residence than were low SES respondents in 1973.

Table 13:

1. A much higher percentage of high SES respondents scored high on the rurality index than did low SES respondents. A majority of the high SES respondents held high rural value scores (1973 only).

Table 14:

1. Migrant youth show a clear preference for urban residence, but they

do not differ significantly from nonmigrants in their residential aspirations.

Table 15:

1. Two-thirds of the Mexican-American students who had lived in metropolitan areas held urban aspirations. This was moderately higher than the percentage of students with no metropolitan experience.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The data clearly indicates the rural Mexican-American youth of the Texas border region have become less enchanted by life in the cities. This change was strong enough to cut across differences in sex, modal residence and socioeconomic status. These urban decreases were not only complete throughout all categories in terms of aspirations but they were also complete throughout all categories of expectations. The one exception to this statement is the increase in urban expectations among farm dwellers. However, when one examines the decrease in urban aspirations and the high percentage of high scores on the rurality index, one must view the farm dwellers' increase in urban expectations as being economically motivated.

It is also essential to remember that the urban setting still attracts the majority of aspirants among females, town or village dwellers, and low SES students. Similarly, larger percentages of migrants and students with metropolitan residential experience prefer urban residence more frequently than nonmigrant nonmetropolitan counterparts.

When one reviews our findings and compares them to previous research, the results are highly impressive: (1) Consistent with the previous research - females desire urban residence more frequently than males. (2) Consistent with the previous research - nonfarm dwellers prefer urban residence at a higher rate than do farm dwellers.

While socio-economic status was not used as an independent variable in any of the previous research reports, Schwarzweller approached it indirectly. He found that the Mountain youth (generally of lower SES) had a greater propensity for migration than did the Bluegrass youth (generally of higher SES). Additionally, if one assumes that the Blacks in the Youmans, Kuvlesky-Pelham and Lever studies were of lower SES than their White counterparts, then the findings that Blacks held higher rates of urban aspirations than did the Whites, also supports a hypothesis that low SES students more frequently desire urban residence than high SES students. The data on Mexican-American youth is supportive of such an hypothesis. Although the strength of the effects of SES on urban aspirations is not overbearing, it would seem only prudent for future residence projections researchers to carefully scrutinize its effects.

Turning our attention to the more theoretical aspects of this study, we can make several assertions. First, the economically determined model for explaining increases in rural aspirations does not hold up as well as might have been expected.

A review of the volumes of Texas Industrial Expansion, a publication listing new and expanded industrial activities by Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) and by counties, revealed that there was virtually no industrial growth in the three counties over the six year period.[12] However, the neighboring counties of Maverick and Hidalgo exhibited relatively substantial industrial expansion in and near their areas of high population concentration (Eagle Pass and the McAllen - Pharr - Edinburg SMSA). This industrial expansion mostly involved increases in low skilled employment opportunities for food processing, textile manufacturing and tourism.

To the extent that the economically determined model does apply, it is more

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[12] Dimmit County showed an increase of about 100 jobs over this period. The other counties showed considerably less activity.

prevalent among the low SES Mexican-American students. If it can be considered that the low SES group is responsive to economic opportunity and are willing to commute to the increasing occupational opportunities in neighboring counties, then the economic model can explain their slight 3.1 percent increase in rural aspirations. Also the economic model is given more credence in explaining low SES changes because of the relatively small percentage (41.8) of low SES respondents exhibiting high scores on the rurality index. This indicates that the majority consider urban residence lifestyles as good as rural ones. Thus their desires for rural residence are not based on philosophical grounds of rural romanticism.

The philosophical model appears to carry more weight with the higher SES group. They showed a much larger decrease (25.5 percent) in urban aspirations, and a much greater (13.6 percent) increase in rural aspirations than their low SES counterparts. Similarly, a significantly larger percentage of high SES respondents scored high on the rurality index.

However, it must be recalled that those students with metropolitan experience showed a high (66.7 percent) preference for urban residence, thus denying the metropolitan disenchantment thesis. This is highly confusing in light of the finding that the respondents whose modal residence was the city, showed a minority (47.1 percent) aspiring to urban residence.

The data seems to point to the conclusion that it is the positive philosophical model (i.e., the back-to-the-land philosophy) that is leading the way for change in residential projections among Mexican-American youth. Perhaps this philosophy is not prevalent in the same romanticized version expounded by Reich, but exists primarily in a modified form. Perhaps the philosophy is one of sacrificing some of the economic benefits of urban residence for the environmental benefits (physical and social) of rural life. Perhaps the higher SES

Mexican Americans desire this "golden-mean" in which they can enjoy the best of both worlds.

A recent article by Lance Morrow (1976) attributes this "best of both worlds" model to the disenchanted urban middle class who have been abandoning the urban environment in increasing numbers from 1970 to 1974. It appears as if these values are cutting across ethnic, regional and residential lines. In other words, it appears that the middle class Mexican Americans in rural South Texas hold the same values attributed to the urban middle class in the large northern cities.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

In all probability, this change in values will not work to the advantage of the counties involved nor the Mexican-American populations in them. Most likely the middle class Mexican-American youth and the most promising lower class youth will continue to leave the area for more attractive residences in areas that offer good schools, good jobs, good services, adequate recreational facilities and proximity to an urban setting.

The only chance available to the counties for retaining their more promising youth is in the development of better schools, employment opportunities, services and recreational facilities. This is a big order for places with a limited tax base, such as these three border counties.

Perhaps the best hope for Zapata and Starr Counties is to try to attract some of the growing winter tourist trade that annually deluges the Low Rio Grande Valley. The Falcon Dam in Zapata County provides a potential recreational facility.

Dimmit County's best hope would probably be continued attempts to attract industry.

Perhaps there will be a slight increase in retention of youth for these counties in the near future, but the odds for substantial change in this respect are not favorable.

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APPENDIX A: RELEVANT QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS IN 1967-1973 INSTRUMENTS

A comparison of questions used for each status projection element in both status areas in 1967 and 1973 indicate they were identical in every case. The stimulus questions used are reproduced below.

RESIDENTIAL PROJECTIONS

Residence Aspiration

Of the kind of place listed below, in which one would you most desire to live for the rest of your life? (Circle only one number):

In a city

1 Very large

2 Small

Near a city

3 In a town or village

4 In the country but not on a farm

5 On a farm

Not near a city

6 In a town or village

7 In the country but not on a farm

8 On a farm

Residence Expectation

From the kind of places listed above, what type of place do you really expect to live most of your life? Place the number of this type of place in the following box:

Intensity of Aspiration

Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to.

Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important, put a number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one, put in a number 2; and so on until you have a different number (from 1 to 7) for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question.

_____ To have lots of free time to do what I want.

_____ To get all the education I want.

_____ To earn as much money as I can.

_____ To get the job I want most.

_____ To live in the kind of place I like best.

_____ To have the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.

_____ To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have used each number from 1 to 7 only one time and you should have a number in each blank space.

Certainty of Expectation

How certain are you that you will live in this kind of place? I am: (Circle one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
Very Certain	Certain	Not Very Certain	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

Modal Residence

Where have you lived most of your life? (Circle one number.):

1 City (over 2,500)

2 Town or village (under 2,500)

3 In the country, but not on a farm

4 On a farm

SES INDICATOR

Main Breadwinner's Job

What is the main job held by the major money earner of your home? (Write your answer in the following box. Give a specific job, not the company or place worked for.)

The following stimulus items were included in the 1973 interview schedule only:

Rurality Index

DIRECTIONS: Answer the following questions by checking the answer that best indicates your opinions toward rural living.

1. Rural folks are (a.___more; b.___as; c.___less) broadminded than other groups with which you are familiar.

2. Rural living provides (a.___many; b.___some; c.___few) chances for new experiences or opportunities.

3. Rural folks have a (a.___greater; b.___about the same; c.___less) feeling of neighborliness than people living in other areas.

4. A person reared in the country has a (a.___good; b.___fair; c.___poor) chance of attaining recognition in later life.

5. A person from a small town or village has (a.___more; b.___about the same; c.___less) opportunity to develop his abilities than a person from the farm.

6. Making a high income is (a.___the best; b.___a fair; c.___a poor) measure of success in life.

7. As far as I am concerned, living in a city is (a.___better than; b.___about the same as; c.___worse than) living in a small town or rural area.

Migrant Status

Have you ever traveled away from home to do farm (ranch) work in another area or state?

1. No 2. Yes If yes, where? Town: _____

State: _____

Metropolitan Experience

Have you and your family ever lived in a large city, for example one the size of San Antonio, Laredo, or Austin?

1. No 2. Yes What City? _____